[P. 105 a] Wukchumni

582 would be called hokoi ´šan yiw‹ ´nši (sister
marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
582 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two
588 recently married young Waksachi who are second
cousins. He added that he thought "people to
the north" married their cousins. No special
punishment was attempted in the old days when
such a marriage occurred. The parents of both
participants, having done their best to prevent
it by verbal argument, would not, and apparent-
[558] ly could not, do anything more. There was un-
doubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how
far this affected the offspring of such a union
cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages
is in itself an indication that commonsense
entered, according to the particular circum-
stances. J.B. said that such marriages "never
occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there
is no genealogical evidence to prove the con-
trary, we can scarcely accept a complete nega-
tive. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within
the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself,
provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If
he had been betrothed to a girl at her first
menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek
her bed at night. But in doing so he committed
himself to a serious union with the girl and to
obligations in the provision of food to her
● 583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
591 going for the morning bath and thence to his
parents' home for breakfast. During the day he
would fish or hunt, taking the game to his
wife's home and remaining there for the evening
meal. If he did not go there he hung about the
sweat house and slept there at night; this was
especially true if the girl's home was already
crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked
upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely
lasted out a year. If the girl became preg-
nant at once, she usually wanted to stay with
her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the
husband's home or to a house of their own.
When gathering seeds, or on any other food-
collecting expedition, the young wife joined
her mother if it were physically possible. If
she did not accompany her mother, then she did
not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but
attended to household tasks and helped in the
preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman
were wholly independent in their choice of a
mate, and especially so in their married life.
But the parents of both participants exerted
strong personal influence. They frequently ar-
ranged betrothals at puberty and made every
effort to see that the marriage not only took
place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each
other by the reciprocal term ma ´ši from the
time the betrothal took place.

[P. 1959] Chuckchansi

882 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

864 "The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had to marry the man she refused.) Money and other
● 583 gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[193]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

59 [194] Concerning residence after marriage, there was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group. 584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

[193] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

[P. 235b] Western Mono NS25

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pn•m (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´w•n. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'•kšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

W Y [186] B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-